/121/ [illegible]tes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

/123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

f	=	father	ol	=	older
m	=	mother	yg	=	younger
so	=	son	si	=	sibling
da	=	daughter	-o-	=	of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./
br	=	brother	(M)	=	male Ego
sis	=	sister	(F)	=	female Ego
sp	=	spouse	(V)	=	vocative
			(R)	=	reference

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Kinship Terms

f	Pajké	(M-F)	(V)
f	Yee Pajké	(M-F)	(R)
m	Maú	(M-F)	(V)
m	Yeé Pajkó	(M-F)	(R)
so	Majké	(M-F)	(V)
so	Yeé Majké	(M-F)	(R)
da	Majkó	(M-F)	(V)
da	Yeé Majkó	(M-F)	(R)
ol-br	Mamí	(M-F)	(V)
ol-br	Yeé Mamí	(M-F)	(R)
yg-br	Nijiá	(M-F)	(V)
yg-br	Yeé Kabí	(M-F)	(R)
ol-sis	Mamió	(M-F)	(V)
ol-sis	Yeé Mamió	(M-F)	(R)
yg-sis	Numió	(M-F)	(V)
yg-sis	Yeé Kabió	(M-F)	(R)
f-br	Mé	(M)	(V)

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YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

(1) Yúpuri Baúro	(B)	(1)	(2) Yepára Oakajpeá	(+)	(2)
(3) Yepára Oyé	(B)		(4) Yepára Suí	(C)	(3)

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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(5) Bejsémi Kuiseré	(C)		(6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro	(B)	
(7) Suí Makúpi	(C)		(8) Ajkíto Ñetedejká	(C)	
(9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá	(+)		(10) Yúpuri Pamó	(B)	
(11) Yepára Merú	(C)		(12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí	(C)	
(13) Sérvi Bojsé	(C)		(14) Doétiro Mimisipé	(C)	
(15) Ajkíto Patíro	(C)		(16) Kemáru Kukú	(C)	
(17) Urémiri Sióropo Bayá	(B)		(18) Urémiri Sáraro	(C)	
(19) Parisí	(B)		(20) Yúpuri Búbera	(B)	
(21) Ajúsiro Merí	(B)		(22) Najóri Dipé	(B)	
(23) Yáitoro	(C)		(24) Urémiri Sakuró	(C)	
(25) Buú Púra	(B)		(26) Suí Amoperí	(B)	
(27) Ajúsiro Túro	(B)		(28) Arú Perí	(B)	

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*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

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(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

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MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarʃ, Surubʃ, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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(1) Bejkári	(C)	(2) Mijpiágue	(C)
(3) Mijpiá Diára	(C)	(4) Majkápiro Púra	(C)
(5) Borékearo	(C)	(6) Petároague	(C)
(7) Majároague	(C)		

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Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamʃ.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamʃ, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamʃ.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

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(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Mekó, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Utíwiague	(C)	(2) Socóro Páramero	(C)
(3) Biá Déroague	(C)	(4) Purí Máriroague	(C)
(5) Aúwuewague	(C)	(6) Uejári Téroague	(C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

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192 German in Tukano is called Alemán. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazil-
* ians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí.
539 And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another
[192] order for the Portuguese to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapañumas in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré,
• [197] who are people who speak Geral (18),

18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaojpekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
• 197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
[177] a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[178] adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

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/footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. [178] [115] [126] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

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Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity [563] [582] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

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2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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532 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the
184 masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood
143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

• 197 Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

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• 197 the idiom of others somatically quite different. Here we await the word of the experts (17).

17. In collaboration with the "Centro de Pesquisas da Prelazia do Rio Negro" /Research Center of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro/ for the classification of the Amerindian idioms, we have collected the "test" Vocabulary of 200 words (and also recorded the pronounciation of many) suggested by Prof. Morris Swadesh of Denver (United States). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./ The following are the tribes whose Vocabulary we have and which appear in our work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia":
1st. Of the Tukano linguistic Family: 1. Bará (or Barasana); 2. Desana (Winá); 3. Edúrya (Erúlya); 4. Ihwana (Yona); 5. Karapanã-tapuya (Mõxtã); 6. Kubewana (Pamíwa); 7. Mikura-tapuya (Oá-mahã, gambá /opossum/ people); 8. Panenoá (Hanẽra); 9. Pirá-tapuya (Waíkhana, fish people); 10. Suryana (Surirá); 11. Taraíra-tapuya (Roéra-masã, food people); 12. Tatu-tapuya (Páboa-maxsã, tatu /armadillo/ people); 13. Temyú-tapuya (Ba:re-masã, food people); 14. Tsẽna; 15. Tukano (Daxseá); 16. Tuyuka-tapuya (Doxká-foará, clay people); 17. Yebá-masã; 18. Yí-tapuya (Íde-masã, water people); 19. Yuriti-tapuya (Wahyára, Uhaíia-na, dove people); 20. Wanana (Kórtirya); 21. Waríwa-tapuya (Emõá-masã, guariba /howling monkey/ people); 22. Koreterabõa (Buya-tapuya, snake people). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./
2nd. Of the Arwake linguistic Family: 1. Iñabu-tapuya (inambú /tinamou/ people, Huhúdene); 2. Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people, Kumãdene); 3. Marakayá-tapuya (maracaja /a wild cat/ people, Werekena); 4. Pisuna-tapuya (black people, Kadaupuri-tana); 5. Siusi-tapuya (star people, Wariperž-dékene); 6. Sukuruyu-Tapuya (sucuri people, Mauri-weni); 7. Taryana (Talyáseri);

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/footnote 17 cont./ 8. Tatú-tapuya (tatu people, Âdza-nẽẽni); 9. Yawareté-tapuya (onça people, Dzawí-minánẽy); 10. Yurupari-tapuya (demon people, Mapatse-dákeney); 11. Yiboya-tapuya (giboia people, Dzuré-mẽne).

3rd. Of the Makú linguistic Family: 1. Makú of the Serra dos Porcos (in the vicinity of Iauareté, Uaupés River). 2. Makú of the Japú-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the middle Uaupés). 3. Makú of the Ira-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the lower Tiquié). 4. Makú of the river Taraíra (tributary of the Apaporis).

/79/ In the classic division of the tribes of Brazil into the four groups Tupi-guarani, Gê, Arwáke /Arawak/, and Karaíba /Carib/, the area of these last two groups covers the basin of the Rio Negro. In the Karaíba group, however, there are only the Arekuna and Makiritare (or Deukwana of Curt Nimuendajú), with representatives on the river Içana, not in the Uaupés basin, although Chestmir has found vestiges of Karaíba (as we pointed out in the work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") in many idioms.

At first the other nations were all included among the Arwake. In the writings of the first explorers the denomination "Aroaquís," covering distinct tribes of the Rio Negro, frequently appears.

Daniel G. Brinton, 1892, distinguished among the tribes that occupy the region between the [illegible]limões and the Guianas the Betóya linguistic family, which also included the Tukano. Later Paul Rivet shows that the Betóya must be included among the Chibcha, and proposes the denomination of Tukano Family for the Uaupés group.

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*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

• 197 126 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms, we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

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*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1)). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

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/83 cont./

648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Cururú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

• 197 [797]

/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanāna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanāna and the Barā is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

*101 115

23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komĩ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrã, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oã kaxpéa põrã, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

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*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[317] [323] [501]

Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[197] [142]

They do not marry the Desana.

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2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

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b) Tribe or Nation?

619 Three elements, that is, a certain degree of political cohesion, a concentration of powers in the hands of the chiefs, and an identity of culture, are included and associated under the concept of Tribe, as commonly understood. Now the first two elements are not found among the human groups in the Amazonian Northwest. One can not, then, speak in terms of Tribe. Perhaps it would have been better to call them Nation. We have, in reality, various national groups, each one with its language, presenting characteristic somatic features, in spite of the regime or exogamy in force among them.

All of them, however, constitute a single cultural group. As a matter of fact, they possess common traditions and practices, that is, a similar pattern of life and assemblage of observances that, strange to us, are common to all, such as the rules of marriage, of exogamy, of puberty initiation, etc.

c) Linguistic Families.

• 197 We await the decision of the specialists on various linguistic questions: 1st, do those that are generally listed as languages deserve to be called this? or might some of them perhaps be merely dialectical variations? 2nd, what is the relationship between them, perhaps one derived from another? which ones would be the derived ones? 3rd, would the present idioms be sister languages, originating from ancient idioms that have already disappeared? which ones would these be? 4th, and, with this last hypothesis, which of the present idioms of the Uaupés comes closest to the original mother tongue?

Attributing a "Language" to each of the "Tribes," as a temporary and hypothetical assumption, we can say (as we have done passim in the present study) that the tribes of the Brazilian Uaupesina area are divided into three distinct and irreducible Families of Languages: the Tukano family, the Arwake family, and the Makú family.

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• 197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2)) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, [115] "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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121 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1911; Mason, 1950). A new classification now
197 places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the
121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark-cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1940 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the
[614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or [171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character [342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the [712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com- [567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. [596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu- [553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg- [614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into [796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The [773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yarí*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. [197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com- [765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul- 197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurí River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isána, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiarí. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1906; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has
[354] its own area in the longhouse, and each married woman has her own hearth in this area;
[264] her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[562] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
• 197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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As travelers, missionaries, and rubber-gatherers became familiar with the area, they noted that certain bonds of preferential hospitality and recognition existed among the long-house groups representing sibs of the same (father-) language group, and that this unit occupied a given, continuous territory. The missionaries and rubber-gatherers, as representatives of the colonial situation, tended to deal with each language-bearing unit separately, designating each one as a "tribe."

Nevertheless, some writers, such as Reichel-Dolmatoff (1963), have referred to the composite of all the Indian tribes (except the Makú) that share the same homogeneous culture and that participate in the system of exogamous phratries as the "Tukano tribe." In this definition, the social aggregate circumscribed by the phratry system is the tribe. Martius (1867) and Markham (1910) likewise spoke of the "Uaupés" Indians. Another argument for regarding this larger social unit as the one that could appropriately be designated as the "tribe" has been its tendency at times to be organized, partially at least, as a confederacy (Markham 1910). Continuing acculturation throughout the area at the present time may indeed lead to the loss of internal lines of social differentiation, resulting in the emergence of a single, regional society (Galvão 1959) in much the same way that the diverse Mapuche groups have emerged as a single tribe (Faron 1961). I believe that such a society here, unless interfered with, will retain a marriage system marked by exogamous, father-language groups of sibs.

At present, however, Indians recognize the set of longhouses speaking the same father-language as the maximal unit, and this is the "tribe" that is exogamous; that is, it is of these units that the exogamous phratry consists. As mentioned earlier, many of these units appear to have separate histories. The Indian identification of this exogamous, language-bearing unit as the maximal one is crucial in the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon. I shall use the term "tribe" in accord with this identification.[4]

Languages: Degree and Nature of Relationship

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The criterion used in this paper to differentiate languages is mutual unintelligibility. The Indians' identification of tribe with language was initially relied on to prepare a

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• 197 tentative list of languages, as the listing of "tribes" was ostensibly also a listing of "languages." For the many informants asked, the criterion of tribal distinctiveness includes, by their own cultural definition, mutual unintelligibility between languages. It seemed premature to construct formal tests to explore degrees of mutual intelligibility between languages that were obviously genetically related (Voegelin and Harris 1951), but when asked directly, informants confirmed their mutual unintelligibility. The field procedure [125] that I preferred and used was to watch for occasions when an Indian would comment that he had not understood someone else in a discussion where more than one language was spoken, at which time I would inquire what were the languages concerned. I depended on an Indian commenting in Tukano to identify nonunderstanding situations, but I was also able to pick up cues of "I don't understand" that I recognized in a number of the other languages. Thus I learned that such apparently closely related languages as Desano and Siriano, and even Tuyuka and Yuruti (see next two paragraphs), are mutually unintelligible. These and similar languages that are very closely related genetically make the central Northwest Amazon area an excellent one for close examination of the problem of language versus dialect (see Haugen 1966b).

Several language families are represented in this multilingual area: Eastern Tukanoan, Arawakan, Indo-European, Tupí-Guaranían, and others that remain undetermined (cf. Mason 1950, Noble 1965). Of these, the family most widely represented and with the largest number of languages is the Eastern Tukanoan, a family that seems to be contained entirely within the Northwest Amazon. The following discussion of my impressions is limited to this family.

I have made a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Eastern Tukanoan family, using the comparative method on 13 of its languages on which I have field materials. The resulting subgroupings (see list in the appendix) definitely do not correlate with *phratric* groupings. Apparently the language most closely related to Tukano is Tuyuka, which is not intelligible to Tukano-speakers, not even "with difficulty." In phonology, morphology, and lexicon, one is considerably more distant from the other than Jutish is from Standard Danish (cf. Haugen 1955). However, in the field and on

[P. 674-B]

• 197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yurutí, or between [191] Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects" are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from lan- [194] guage to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

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191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

191 578 dated dancing body. During the course of the ceremony, the women group according to their own tribal affiliations and sing as choruses in their own father-tongues. Married women alternate between singing in their original father-language, in their husband's language, and in the longhouse language of the hosts.

191 • 197 619 If neither one's father nor mother is Tukano, one nevertheless will speak Tukano as a lingua franca. Indirect evidence suggests that Tukano existed aboriginally, or at least early in the historic period, as a lingua franca, although its epicenter may have formerly been in the Lower Vaupés. The Tukano tribe may even have been the dominant group in a confederation or nation of sorts (Markham 1910). At any rate, the Tukano are widely and strategically located and appear to have exerted a dominant influence in the whole area. The Tukano claim a mild prestige as the senior sibs of the area and regard all the other tribes as younger-brother sibs in a particular rank order (see Fulop 1955); this ranking is accepted by the other tribes. Because the Tukano tribe is so widespread, almost every longhouse has at least one Tukano woman in it. Therefore, persons who do not have a Tukano for father or mother still have someone in their longhouse from whom they can absorb the correct pronunciation of Tukano.

197 Now, the Tukano language contains at least six dialects. As a lingua franca it is not pidginized but is learned in one or another of its tribal dialect forms, whatever one the learner is exposed to. Speakers for whom Tukano is not their father- or mother-language can still be identified as to regional dialect. Tukano, incidentally, is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language. Maintenance of Tukano as a lingua franca has probably been reinforced by there being some 25 or more language groups that it serves.

191 The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 An Indian, then, does not want to try to
• 197 speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papurí River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 The early non-Indians who started coming
648 into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *língoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

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cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

The One Language/One Culture Image

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

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101 is father-language to all, nor is there any one language that is mother-language to everyone. 197 What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[6]

191 *Implications for Transformational Linguistic Theory*

A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

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what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the long-house group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

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The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

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(1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

(A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yurutí, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalized and caboclo-ized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karihona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[7]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papuri, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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Spellings. Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

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Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

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[2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brasil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

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[3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalised (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabuco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

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[4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

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[5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papurí and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper-to middle-Tiké. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data about each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

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[6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by putatively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

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